DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 270 796 CS 209 876

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TITLE Progressivism Manifested in the Press: H. A. Chadwick and the "Seattle Argus."
PUB DATE Aug 86
NOTE 24p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (69th, Norman, OK, August 3-6, 1986).
PUB TYPE Speeches/Conference Papers (150) -- Historical Materials (060)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC01 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Business Responsibility; Conservatism; Editorials; Journalism; *Newspapers; *Opinions; Political Influences; Political Issues; Press Opinion; Social Change; *Trusts (Financial)
IDENTIFIERS Chadwick (H A); Journalism History; *Progressivism; *Seattle Argus (Newspaper)

ABSTRACT

H. A. Chadwick bought one-half interest in the Seattle "Argus" in 1894 and through this newspaper expressed the sentiments of the progressive movement of his time, a combination of reform-oriented and conservative forces. The newspaper was only six weeks old and deep in debt when Chadwick took over the editorial duties and he quickly increased circulation through imaginative strategies. The slant of the paper was independent of any political party, though Chadwick freely acknowledged his Republican political ties. Like most Progressives, Chadwick believed that monopolistic trusts were corrupt and ought to be eliminated through legislative action. Newspapers' complicity in this corruption particularly offended Chadwick and he specifically condemned the "Seattle Times" and the "Post-Intelligencer" for carrying blatantly fraudulent advertising. Chadwick also expressed his mistrust of certain religious organizations such as the Christian Scientist Church and the Mormon Church. The "Argus" has been labeled by some historians as conservative, pro-business, and a paper for the wealthy, but the early years of the "Argus" reveal Chadwick as an independent thinker, a social critic, and a reform-minded progressive. One hundred and seven end notes are appended. (SRT)

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HISTORY DIVISION

PROGRESSIVISM MANIFESTED IN THE PRESS: H. A. CHADWICK AND THE SEATTLE ARGUS:

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Paper presented to the History Division, Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication Annual Convention, Norman, Oklahoma August 3-6, 1986

CS 209 876

PROGRESSIVISM MANIFESTED IN THE PRESS:
H. A. CHADWICK AND THE SEATTLE ARGUS

"The Weekly Argus: A Clean-Cut, Independent, Snappy, Restless, Earnest, Forcible, Modern 1894 Newspaper - A Fearless, Aggressive Newspaper."[1] With this advertisement, H. A. Chadwick proclaimed his intentions for the fledgling Seattle newspaper in which he had just purchased half-interest for $40.[2] Assuming the roles of publisher, editor and reporter, Chadwick immediately introduced his personality into the Seattle Argus, converting it into a mouthpiece for his opinions and whimsy.[3] Chadwick viewed himself -- and his newspaper — as a free thinker determined to distinguish truth from pretense, competency from ineptness. He often pledged to his readers that the Argus would "tell the truth on all matters of public moment, no matter where it hits."[4]

Historians, however, see Chadwick and the Seattle Argus in a different light. While no historian has studied the early years of the Argus in depth, several are quick to generalize about Seattle's oldest weekly and its publisher. A "conservative, pro-business paper"[5] and "the paper for the wealthy"[6] are common labels bestowed on the Seattle Argus. Murray Morgan in Skid Row describes the Argus as "a slick-paper weekly with an editorial tone that echoes the conversation in the sedate Rainier Club."[7] Classifying the weekly as a "slick, sophisticated, leisure-class journal,"[8] Norman Clark, author of The Dry Years: Prohibition and Social Change in Washington, writes:

> Chadwick was a classic conservative. He was against labor leaders, Billy Sunday, direct legislation, and municipal ownership, against Theodore Roosevelt, against Woodrow Wilson. Thoroughly oriented toward big business, books, music, art and automobiles, he wrote only for the urban sophisticates and had no power at all in any local option election.[9]

Were Chadwick and the Argus proponents of Seattle's conservative, wealthy business community? Or did Chadwick, through the pages of the Argus, reflect the progressive thought of his time?

Historical scholarship shows that a duality of reform-oriented and conservative forces emerged as the progressive movement around the turn of the 20th century in the United States.[10] Many Progressives were middle-class Americans, often Republicans, who were both morally outraged at the inhumane consequences of industrialization and interested in protecting their economic and political interests.[11] These Progressives -- many of them, journalists -- challenged the stranglehold the large trusts and corporations had on the country but fell short of implementing any fundamental changes in the American political and capitalist systems.[12] They looked to government as the savior and administrator of society, advocating the enactment of regulatory legislation to cure society's ills and to stabilize the economic status quo.[13] Newspapers often served as an information broker for the reformers, informing diverse groups about other parts of the social and political system and expanding a relatively private conflict into a system-wide issue.[14] But they rarely affected the redistribution of power within the political system or advocated genuine change in the country's economic infrastructure.[15]

Washington State certainly experienced sentiments of this progressive trend.[16] Its citizens elected a progressive Republican, Alfred E. Mead, as governor in 1904.[17] During his term, the state legislature enacted progressive legislation in the areas of labor reform and consumer protection.[18] H. A. Chadwick was intricately involved in the intellectual, political and cultural climate of Seattle during this time. Unlike most citizens, he had a vehicle -- the Argus -- to express his thoughts and to

try to influence public opinion.

This paper examines Chadwick's positions on commonly defined progressive themes of the period through the words he wrote in the Argus during its first 15 years. It also attempts to compare Chadwick's contemporaries' views of the Argus with historians' treatment of the newspaper and its publisher's place in Seattle history. The paper, however, does not attempt to compare the Argus with other Seattle newspapers nor does it speculate on whether Chadwick's opinions represented or influenced public opinion in the Seattle community.

Like many Seattlites in the late 19th century, Harry Alexander Chadwick had Eastern beginnings.[19] Born in Searsport, Maine, on June 6, 1866, Chadwick was the son of an established New England couple, Henry Kimball and Maria (Manning) Chadwick.[20] He went to public schools in Gardiner and Farmington, Maine, and, as a teenager, began his love affair with newspapers. He first worked as a printer for his hometown paper, the Gardiner Home Journal.[21] At 17, he became the state editor of the Daily Kennebec Journal in Augusta, Maine. Surrendering to the lure of the frontier, Chadwick left his family in the mid-1880s and traveled to Chicago and Los Angeles before ending up in Seattle on Nov. 6, 1888, at the age of 22.[22] In Chadwick's words:

> It was raining, and raining hard. I had arrived in Tacoma that morning, but fate and a Northern Pacific ticket agent had billed me from Tacoma to Seattle by water. . . . [I] had been told in Tacoma that Seattle was only a sawmill town, and that we were all likely to be knocked in the head and robbed before we got to the hotel.[23]

Penniless, Chadwick went job-hunting the day he reached Seattle.

> I made a few inquiries and found that the Post-Intelligencer was the only morning paper. . . . he [the editor] told me that I could go to work, and he would pay me what I was worth. I didn't see how I could live on that, and so made a bolt for the composing room . .

> . . The next day I hunted a rooming house. I found a little bit of a hole that I could rent for fifteen per month. It was worth fully three . . . . Then I started out to take in the town and get some dinner. I was particularly attracted by a sign . . . "Ham & Eggs, 15 cts. Fresh Ranch Eggs, 10 cts. Extra." I went in. There was a long counter with stools. You were a busy boy when you ate at that joint. You brushed the cockroaches away with one hand, and ate any way you could.[24]

That was Chadwick's introduction to Seattle. He worked as "one of the star performers on the P-I" until August 1889 when he became a reporter and assistant city editor for the Seattle Daily Press.[25] He then moved on to the Seattle Press-Times where he became foreman of the composing room. During this time, he married Laura M. Castle and eventually became the father of two children.[26]

In 1894, Chadwick officially resigned from the printing job at the Seattle Press-Times but admitted forty years later that he had been "kicked out of a job by the 'machine age.'"[27]

Seattle, as well as the rest of the country, experienced high unemployment and perilous economic times in 1894. The nation had survived the Panic of 1893 and the turmoil associated with Coxey's Army marching into Washington, D.C.[28] Seattle's business leaders came "mighty near being wiped out in the panic. Some of them were wiped out."[29] Others had to walk to work to save a nickel carfare.[30] Dexter Horton, one of Seattle's leading citizens who had recently built the New York block at the corner of Second Avenue and Cherry St., was "worried to death because it was three-quarters vacant."[31]

This was the economic climate in Seattle on March 31, 1894, when Chadwick purchased one-half interest in the Argus.[32] "The paper was in debt up to its eyebrows," Chadwick explained, "but the forty dollars of new capital which I brought with me put us on a substantial basis. Our credit

was good for another week, provided that we did not work it too hard."[33]

Joining Alfred Tennyson Ambrose as co-owner, Chadwick breathed new life into the six-week-old publication.[34] He immediately took over the editorial duties and set out to increase circulation through innovative promotion techniques.[35] For example, he encouraged subscribers to recruit at least one new subscriber a month by promising them a free copy of The Life and Works of James G. Blaine — a $3.50 value.[36] He also ran contests:[37] "The person who sends . . . the best original remark about Washington weather will be given a year's subscription to the ARGUS."[38] He even joined forces with the Ward's Circulating Library and advertised that any person could receive the Argus and borrow up to 74 types of current magazines and novels for 50 cents per month.[39] Chadwick praised the success of these promotions in the pages of the Argus. In November 1894, he announced the first size increase of the weekly from an eight-page tabloid to an eight-page standard-sized (12 by 18) newspaper without increasing the subscription rate of five cents an issue, $2.00 a year.[40] Chadwick lauded the expansion as being "done during the hardest times this country has ever known."[41] In 1901 Chadwick again boasted that the paper was gaining 25 to 50 new subscribers per week and wrote that he would substantiate that figure to any doubter.[42]

Chadwick's contemporaries also praised the success of the Argus and considered it one of two most prominent weeklies in Seattle.[43] A Post-Intelligencer story in 1915 acknowledged that the Argus was "growing stronger and more prosperous with every succeeding year."[44] Clarence Bagley, Seattle's historian, wrote in 1929 that "The Argus has become a valuable newspaper property and commands the respect of all who admire clear and independent journalism."[45] In 1899, a letter-to-the-editor printed in the Argus stated "Your lively and interesting weekly paper is

widely circulated . . . (and known) for its independency."[46]

H. A. Chadwick prided himself on his independence. In "The Stroller"[47] and "Editorial Notes," he regularly promised his readers that the Argus "pledges itself . . . to deal fairly and justly with all, while criticizing freely whenever and wherever it may deem advisable."[48] In the Argus' seventh anniversary issue, Chadwick elaborated on this independence.

> The Argus is absolutely independent. No person besides its editor owns (sic) or controls the smallest interest in it. No person is in a position or is likely to be in a position to 'pull strings' and control or dictate its policy on any question. It owes no man a dollar, and its legitimate profits from advertising and subscriptions pay all operating expenses, and [offer] good profit on the investment.[49]

Chadwick, however, freely acknowledged his political ties with the Republican Party. In 1894, he wrote that the Argus "while always republican in politics, . . . recognizes that no political party is perfect, and will point out any wrongdoing, no matter who be the offender."[50] The wrongdoers, however, were mostly Democrats, especially in the weekly's early years. In fact, the Argus ran a regular column during its first year entitled, "Another Incompetent Democrat," which spotlighted one Democratic politician each week and reported on that person's wrongdoings. At other times, Chadwick whimsically boasted his political allegiance. "By actual measurement the snowfall of the past winter in the Cascade mountains was 63 feet," Chadwick quipped. "The Democratic Party will be snowed under worse than that this coming fall."[51]

Not surprisingly, Chadwick supported the Republican candidacy of Albert E. Mead for governor in 1904 although Mead was not Chadwick's first choice because of his questionable railroad ties.[52] Rather Chadwick seemed to feel Mead was the better of two evils.

> The comment has been made that the state ticket nominated by the republicans is weak . . . . But to compare it with the aggregation assembled by the democrats would be like comparing a diamond to a dunghill.[53]

However, toward the end of Mead's generally considered progressive administration, Chadwick had soured on the governor. He was especially critical of Mead's leniency in giving prison paroles and pardons.[54] By 1907, Chadwick was actively promoting Mead's defeat for re-election stating that Washington State would be foolish to elect again such an incompetent governor.[55] Around this time, Chadwick also neutralized his paper's pro-Republican stance, stating, "The policy of the Argus is to keep clean of politicians, and to be just as free to criticise (sic) one as the other.[56]

Chadwick, however, did not soften his disgust over the corporate trusts operating in Seattle and throughout the country. He regularly railed on the greediness of businesses and their desire to limit competition and to control trade for their own interests. Unscrupulous physicians, dentists, druggists, meat packers, insurance agents, barbers, bakers, landlords and real estate brokers often incurred his wrath.[57] But Chadwick seemed to see the monopolistic trusts as central to the corruption.[58]

> There is a medical trust in King County just as surely as there has been a milk trust, an ice trust. . . . And the medical trust goes farther than the other trusts. It not only forces one to pay certain prices but it forces one . . . to call in a physician, whether he needs it or not.[59]

Chadwick called on the state legislature to amend laws regulating physicians, dentists and barbers that "work a rank injustice" by keeping supply down and prices up.[60] For the medical trust, he advocated a law, similar to ones in other states, that would recognize a medical license issued from another state without requiring the practitioner to pass an examination designed to restrict entry into the profession. If such a law

were enacted, then "we will be able to split the medical trust wide open."[61] Elsewhere he hurled invective at the meat trust. When the people of this city, he noted, are tied "body, soul, and breeches" to the meat trust, they will begin to see "that Friend Theodore is doing business along the proper lines."[62]

While recommending legislative remedies to break the trusts' power, Chadwick often questioned the legislators' ability to withstand their influence. To deal with this problem, Chadwick suggested an alternative method of breaking the power of the insurance trusts which band together "forcing an exorbitant rate, and at the same time stifling competition."[63] He proposed the development of a cooperative association of large property owners which "might be strong enough to overcome the influence exerted by the insurance companies in the legislature and give us laws which would insure fair treatment to all."[64]

Chadwick spent much time lamenting the corrupt alliance among corporate leaders, politicians and journalists. Local communities, including Seattle, are especially susceptible to corporate manipulation and bribery, he complained. Because corporate bribers are successful, Chadwick asserted, the average citizen looks up to them "instead of treating them with the contempt, which they merit" for achieving their success from "ruined lives, purjured (sic) souls, and the criminals they have helped to make."[65]

Newspapers' complicity in this corruption particularly offended Chadwick. The Baking Powder Trust's bribery scandal involving Missouri legislators gave Chadwick the opportunity to vent his disgust over the power advertisers held over many newspapers.[66] He accused most newspapers, including the dailies in Seattle, of deliberating not reporting about "one of the most brazen and shameless series of legislative briberies ever

perpetrated in any state of the union."[67] The news black-out occurred because the Baking Powder Trust "by reason of its lavish expenditure of money for advertising space in the daily papers, almost utterly controls the news columns of many of our prominent journals."[68] Chadwick used this scandal as another opportunity to attack the trusts.

> One of the most deplorable results of the domination of the trust of our commercial life is, that not content with pilfering the earnings of the masses through exorbitant prices exacted for the necessaries of life, they have well-nigh bankrupted the nation of its sense of moral rectitude. . . .
>
> Almost without exception the riot of corruptiou (sic) that has prevailed among city, county and state officials and municipal and state legislatures, has had its origin in the unbrigded (sic) efforts of corporations to effect or maintain monopolies through which to crush competition and tax the people.[69]

Chadwick urged Argus' readers to "mark for slaughter every corporation or trust or concern convicted or accused of using money to control values or seeking exclusive privileges. Mark their products and refuse to contribute to their rottenness by patronizing them."[70]

Chadwick followed his own boycotting advice and refused to cooperate with the Associated Press, condemning it as the "great father of all trusts."[71]

> News sent out by that great organization is subject to rigid censorship, and only such political news as the associated press managers desire to have sent out ever reaches the public by this means. This great father of trusts is the most outrageous thing that has ever been perpetrated on a free people.[72]

Landlord and real estate speculators, although not considered trusts by Chadwick, also received his condemnation. Chadwick repeatedly urged landlords to lower rents on residential and commercial properties. In February 1900, he wrote:

> The thirst for blood of some of the landlords of this town is an exhibition of ghoulish lust . . . . Is a landlord a wolf that he should prey on the necessities of his neighbors? . . . . I believe it is safe to say that rental rates have practically doubled in Seattle during the last year and a half, and still the clutching fingers of greed cannot be kept quiet.[73]

Real estate speculators also were harming the city. According to Chadwick, "The sooner the speculation is squeezed out of Seattle realty the better it will be for this city."[74] Learning that a piece of property reportedly sold for $30,000 when it actually sold for $16,000, Chadwick wrote:

> There should be a law making it a misdemeanor or a crime or something to give out such reports. There can be but one reason for such a thing and that is fraud. It is doubtless a bold attempt to boost prices in that immediate neighborhood. . . .[75]

"There should be a law" was a common refrain in the Seattle Argus. Chadwick urged government to protect its citizens against the abuses rampant in many professions and occupations. He took on the medical and pharmaceutical professions, writing "There should be a national law compelling all physicians to write their prescriptions, as much as possible, in the English language."[76] Legislation should also be approved "compelling all prescriptions to be issued in duplicate, in order that victims of physicians' carelessness could guard against collusion between physician and druggist."[77] Chadwick also thought Seattle should have an ordinance prohibiting people from distributing samples of pills and other patent medicines. People who continued selling drug samples "should be arrested and fined heavily enough to break up the practice."[78]

When Congress and the Washington State legislature approved legislation to protect citizens against unpure food and drugs, Chadwick praised the action.[79] "The pure drug law has come none to soon," he wrote.

"More drunkards and dope fiends have been made by patent medicines than in any other way."[80] Chadwick then related a physician's observations.

> 'There is a certain kind of snuff,' says Dr. James Less, 'which contains 24 grains of cocaine, besides other harmful ingredients, to the ounce. Many druggists had no idea what this snuff contained until the movement for pure drugs commenced. I have seen men come into the store all shaking and trembling — in a state of almost collapse, and inquire for that snuff.'

The publisher also encouraged food and meat inspectors to come down heavily against food adulterations and unsanitary store conditions. Meat inspectors had the responsibility to shut down smelly, unsanitary meat markets.[81] Filthy bakers should be publicized:

> The only safeguard from such swine is the public press, and a law should be passed providing for the publication of the name and address of any man whose establishment is found to be in an unsanitary condition. Then the public will do the rest.[82]

Chadwick applauded Seattle's milk ordinance, passed in 1906, that required public reports on mandatory monthly milk inspections, but suggested the measure did not go far enough. "Why not publish the names of any hotels or restaurants which continue to patronize them [dealers who sell milk not up to standards] after the first publication?," he asked.[83]

While Chadwick saw the newspapers as having the responsibility to inform the public about unsanitary conditions and other social ills, he knew that the press, including the Seattle dailies, often fell short.[84] Advertising pressures, timidity, sensationalism and vested interests led newspapers to avoid covering certain stories or to deceive deliberatively their readers. Recognizing this, Chadwick was against the repeal of the state's libel law in 1901 stating that "no newspaper that intends to act squarely and honorably need fear any kind of libel law."[85]

Chadwick specifically condemned the Seattle Times and the Post-Intelligencer for carrying outrageously fraudulent advertising, stating that they "are just as bad as the fakirs themselves, and they get a goodly proportion of the funds of which gullible people are robbed."[86] Ironically, Chadwick was guilty of carrying these types of advertisements during the Argus' first year. A "Dr. Darrin" regularly advertised through readers (mock news stories) in the weekly from March to August 1894.[87] One reader proclaimed:

> Dr. Darrin cures permanently all diseases of the genito-urinary organs in either sex, such as Blood Taints, and loss of sexual power. All peculiar Female Troubles, Leucorrhoea, Displacements, etc. successfully treated. He also makes a specialty of all diseases of the Eye, Ear (sic), Nose and Throat, deafness and catarrh, as well as all acute, chronic and nervous diseases of whatever name or nature, if curable. No case taken if not.[88]

By summer of 1894, shortly after the first Legal Notice appeared in the paper, the Argus no longer carried the advertisements.

Chadwick's hatred of anything that he thought resembled a sham seeped into religious areas. He felt the Mormon church was "nothing but a big graft, run on scientific principles. It is more dangerous than any other get-rich-quick scheme which has ever been sprung on the American people, and as such it should be put out of business."[89]

The Christian Scientist Church also fell under his condemnation.

> Mother Eddy [Mary Baker Eddy] has managed to lay by something like a million or two dollars for a rainy day, drawn out of the purses of those who believed that they could only be made well by buying her books, and that her photographs helped some. And thousands of people who had nothing on earth the matter with them have been made to believe it.[90]

In more mundane matters, Chadwick adhered to his government-as-the-solution position. He urged the state legislature to test and license

automobile drivers "before somebody is killed."[91] He emphasized the need for an enforceable speed limit for automobiles within the city limits for society's good.

> If everybody had good 'horse sense' no law at all would be necessary. But such is not the case, and the buzz buggies [automobiles] must be regulated, and if needs be, hardships must be imposed on the many in order to hold the contemptible few in check.[92]

Chadwick also wanted the city to license bicycles and to use at least 75 percent of the licensing fees to improve bicycle roads.[93] He advocated a law requiring people who advertised in public places to take down the advertisements as soon as they became out-of-date.[94] He urged the state barbers' board to protect the public against unscrupulous barbers who charged their customers exorbitant prices for worthless hair tonic.[95] Chadwick also applauded the 1906 state law which banned trading stamps as being instrumental in "knocking out the trading stamp graft."[96]

But H. A. Chadwick was not just concerned with solving society's problems by using government as a social regulator. Like many Progressives, he was firmly entrenched in the city's social life. Although not listed in Seattle's "Blue Books,"[97] a directory of society's elites, Chadwick liked high fashion. One Post-Intelligencer story described Chadwick in "A silk hat and Prince Albert coat, cane and gloves . . . [that] made him the pride and envy of the younger set."[98]

Chadwick championed theater and drama, often filling one-quarter of the weekly with stories and photographs on Seattle's theater scene. Regular columns also appeared on the activities of such community organizations as the Seattle Athletic Club, the Olympic Athletic Club, Rod and Gun, the Yacht Club[99], and the University of Washington.[100]

The Argus became well-known for its cartoons depicting leading businesspeople in Seattle. In 1906 Chadwick compiled 365 of these cartoons in the book, Men Behind the Seattle Spirit: The Argus Cartoons. In the foreword, Chadwick playfully wrote:

> If you don't think the picture looks like you, just think how much worse it would be if it did. Remember that what the editor has said under your cut he has said to your face. You may not admire his judgment, but you can't doubt his honesty.[101]

He poked fun at the Chamber of Commerce, writing that its existence, "prevents a useful businessman's club from springing to life."[102] He also gently chided the wealthy and their infatuation with the automobile in 1907, calling the new machine "the only means some people have of showing the public that they are rich."[103]

Lawyers did not escape Chadwick's cutting wit either. Acknowledging that sometimes a person has good grounds for a lawsuit, but doesn't know it, Chadwick quipped that more often "he has no grounds at all, and is made to believe by enterprising firms of attorneys that he has."[104]

Undoubtedly, H. A. Chadwick, similar to many Progressives across the country, stepped in the same circles as many business leaders of the day. He influenced their fashions, shared their politics, poked fun at their egocentricities, reported on their athletics and yacht club meetings, and kept them posted on cultural and theatrical happenings in Seattle. But was he, through the pages of the Seattle Argus, solely a voice for the wealthy as other authors have claimed?

The early years of the Argus paint a different picture of the publisher, editor, writer. They show Chadwick as an independent thinker, a social critic and a reform-minded Progressive. Chadwick was a man who "hated sham, pretense and deceit and was not afraid to expose it under any

and all circumstances."[105] He condemned businesses' greediness and influence-peddling regardless of whether they were local landlords, real estate speculators, or national trusts such as the Royal Baking Powder Trust or the Associated Press.

Chadwick, like many Progressives, looked to government for the solution to many social problems. He advocated legislation to prevent medical and dental professionals from imposing entry restrictions and price-fixing in their professions. He urged the adoption of laws to license automobile drivers and to set speed limits "in order to hold the contemptible few in check."[106] He supported the pure food and drug statutes when most newspaper publishers refused to address the subject because of advertising pressures. He railed against high rental rates, unsanitary meat and bakery conditions and outrageous prices for hair tonics.

Granted, Chadwick was not a muckraker, using investigative journalistic techniques to expose corruption in Seattle's political or business circles. He did not regularly name local businesspersons or politicians who failed to live up to his standards of social conscienceness. Rather, Chadwick served as a social commentator for Seattle and the rest of the country. His observations ranged from bread-and-butter issues to the suspected doctrines of the Mormon Church to the corrupting influence of corporate trusts on America's moral fabric. As one of his colleagues wrote, "I only wish I had preserved every copy [of the Argus] from the start. They would constitute a library of historical facts, descriptions, general knowledge, humor and wisdom of priceless value."[107] He could have added Progressive thought as well.

END NOTES

1. Seattle Argus, March 31, 1894, p. 6.

2. Seattle Argus, Jan. 14, 1933, p. 2.

3. Seattle Argus, June 6, 1934, p. 5; June 23, 1934, p. 2; July 14, 1934, p. 4.

4. Seattle Argus, Feb. 15, 1896, p. 1.

5. Joseph F. Tripp, "Progressive Labor Laws in Washington State (1900-1925)." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington, 1973, p. 62.

6. Roger Sale, Seattle: Past and Present (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1976) p. 101.

7. Murray Morgan, Skid Road: An Informal Portrait of Seattle (New York: The Viking Press, 1951) p. 256.

8. Norman Clark. The Dry Years: Prohibition and Social Change in Washington (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1965) p. 141.

9. Ibid., p. 81.

10. See generally Richard Hofstadter, The Age of Reform (New York, 1955); Robert H. Wiebe, The Search for Order: 1877-1920 (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967) pp. 164-195; Gabriel Kolko, The Triumph of Conservatism (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1967).

11. See generally Hofstadler, The Age of Reform; David M. Kennedy, ed., Progressivism: The Critical Issues (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1971) pp. 65-108.

12. Kolko, The Triumph of Conservatism, pp. 278, 280-281; Hofstadter, The Age of Reform, pp. 196-198.

13. Wiebe, The Search for Order: 1877-1920, pp. 164-195.

14. David Paul Nord, "The Politics of Agenda Setting in Late 19th Century Cities." Journalism Quarterly (Winter 1981) p. 573.

15. Richard B. Kielbowicz, "The Limits of the Press as an Agent of Reform: Minneapolis, 1900-1905." Journalism Quarterly (Spring 1982) p. 170.

16. Mansel G. Blackford, "Reform Politics in Seattle During the Progressive Era, 1902-1916." Pacific Northwest Quarterly 59 (October 1968) pp. 177-183; Warren B. Johnson, "Muckraking in the Northwest: Joe Smith and Seattle Reform," Pacific Historical Review 40 (November 1971) pp. 478-500.

17. See generally Nicholas Jacob Ahlfs, "Albert E. Mead: Reform Governor of Washington, 1905-1909." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington, 1969.

18. See generally Ahlfs, "Albert E. Mead: Reform Governor of Washington, 1905-1909;" Carl Jonathan Moses, "The Washington State Railroad Commission (1905-1911): A History of Progressive Reform." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington, 1984; Tripp, "Progressive Labor Laws in Washington State (1900-1925)."

19. See generally Roger Sale's Seattle: Past and Present and Murray Morgan's Skid Row.

20. Clarence Bagley, History of Seattle from the Earliest Settlement to the Present Time, Vol. 2 (Chicago: S.J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1916) p. 819.

21. Seattle Argus, June 11, 1934, p. 1.

22. Many people assume that Harry Alexander Chadwick was related to Washington State's Supreme Court Justice Stephen C. Chadwick and his wife, Emma Plummer Chadwick. Obituaries for the three, however, indicate no familial relationship. In addition, library records show Sampson and Adelia Bradshaw Chadwick settled on Lopez Island in November 1873 but no evidence is available that suggests this family had any ties with Chadwick.

23. Seattle Argus, Nov. 14, 1908, p. 5.

24. Ibid.

25. Post-Intelligencer, Oct. 15, 1915.

26. H. A. Chadwick and Laura M. Castle were married on Nov. 6, 1888. Castle's father was Capt. D. E. Castle of Washington, D.C., a Civil War veteran and a Treasury Department employee.

27. Seattle Argus, Jan. 14, 1933, p. 2.

28. Henry Steele Commager, The American Mind (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950) p. 52.

29. Seattle Argus, Nov. 14, 1908, p. 5.

30. Seattle Argus, Jan. 14, 1933, p. 2.

31. Ibid.

32. Chadwick replaced O. N. Furbush who moved to Bangor, Maine, and eventually owned "the most successful job printing plant there." See Seattle Argus, Jan. 14, 1933, p. 2.

33. Ibid.

34. Chadwick became sole owner of the Argus when Ambrose died of pneumonia on May 17, 1900.

35. The author assumes Chadwick was primarily responsible for these promotions since they appeared in the paper only after he became co-owner.

36. Seattle Argus, May 26, 1894, p. 2.

37. Newspaper trade journals promoted circulation contests heavily during the late 1890s. See Gerald Baldasty, "Modern Industrialism, the Press and News in Late 19th Century America." Paper presented at the West Coast AEJMC History Division, San Francisco, CA 1985, pp. 23-24.

38. Seattle Argus, Jan. 19, 1901; Chadwick reported that he received only one original remark which was not profane — 'unsteiger' from R.S. Jones. See Seattle Argus, Jan. 26, 1901.

39. Seattle Argus, March 14, 1896, p. 3.

40. The Argus maintained this subscription rate at least until 1910 although its size steadily increased and eventually settled around 16 pages. The rate was among the highest charged for a Seattle newspaper during this time. See N. W. Ayer and Son's American Newspaper Annual (Philadelphia, 1901, 1910) pp. 867 and 928 respectively.

41. Seattle Argus, Nov. 27, 1894, p. 1.

42. Seattle Argus, Feb. 2, 1901, p. 1. According to Ayer's American Annual, the Argus had a circulation of 2,413 (obtained from a detailed statement) in 1901 and an estimated circulation of 4,500 in 1910.

43. The other weekly was the Town Crier. See Welford Beaton, The City that Made Itself: A Literary and Pictorial Record of the Building of Seattle (Seattle: Terminal Publishing Co., 1914) p. 135.

44. Post-Intelligencer, Oct. 15, 1915.

45. Clarence B. Bagley, History of King County, Washington (Chicago: S.J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1929) p. 476; C.H. Hanford also wrote that "the Argus has for many years sustained an excellent reputation as a weekly paper." Seattle & Environs, Vol. 1 (Chicago: Pioneer Historical Publishing Co., 1924) p. 573.

46. Seattle Argus, July 11, 1899, p. 3.

47. Chadwick created this column, subtitled "What He Sees and Hears and His Opinions About Current Topics," the same week he joined the Argus and wrote it every week without interruption until his death at 68 on June 11, 1934. See Seattle Argus, June 16, 1934, p. 2.

48. Seattle Argus, Nov. 27, 1894, p. 1.

49. Seattle Argus, Feb. 2, 1901, p. 1.

50. Seattle Argus, Nov. 27, 1894, p. 1.

51. Seattle Argus, April 28, 1894, p. 1.

52. See generally Alhfs, "Albert E. Mead: Reform Governor of Washington: 1905-1909."

53. Ibid.

54. Ibid.

55. Seattle Argus, March 16, 1907, p. 5.

56. Seattle Argus, March 7, 1908, p. 1. During this time, the Republican Party nationally was undergoing a power struggle as the wealthier classes sought to control party leadership. See Wiebe, The Search for Order: 1877-1920, pp. 214-218.

57. These were common targets of the muckrakers. See generally Louis Filler, The Muckrakers: Crusaders for American Liberalism (Chicago: Henry Regnery Co., 1968); Harvey Swados, Years of Conscience: The Muckrakers (New York: The World Publishing Co., 1962); Salme Harji Steinberg, Reformer in the Marketplace (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1979); Fred J. Cook, The Muckrakers: Crusading Journalists Who Changed America (Garden City: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1972).

58. Many reformers saw the trusts as the embodiment of economic evils in the United States. See Footnote 57.

59. Seattle Argus, Nov. 7, 1908, p. 1.

60. Seattle Argus, June 13, 1908, p. 1.

61. Seattle Argus, Nov. 7, 1908, p. 1.

62. Seattle Argus, Dec. 8, 1906, p. 3.

63. Seattle Argus, April 7, 1906, p. 1.

64. Seattle Argus, June 2, 1906, p. 1.

65. Seattle Argus, March 30, 1907, p. 1.

66. Royal baking powder and ivory soap were leaders in national advertising around the turn of the century. See Edwin and Michael Emery, The Press and America (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1978) p. 233.

67. Seattle Argus, May 9, 1903, p. 2.

68. Ibid.

69. Ibid.

70. Ibid. It is important to note that the Baking Powder Trust did not advertise in the Argus. In fact, evidence suggests that Chadwick

relied more on the revenues obtained from legal notices printed in the Argus than from advertisements since often up to one-half of an issue was devoted to King County legal notices. Financial records, however, are not available for the early years of the Argus. The author has also been unable to determine how Chadwick became the publisher of the county's legal notices. An 1893 state law (R.C.W. 65.16.010) required the weekly publication of legal notices in an established newspaper but did not outline how the contract would be awarded. One would assume each county commission would determine the publication; however, minutes for the King County Commission meetings during the 1890s were not available for review. Surprisingly, the Portland Oregonian mentioned the Argus' contract for legal notices in a tribute to Chadwick after his death. According to the paper, "So considerable became the reputation of the Argus for strict fidelity to copy and irreproachable proofreading, under [Chadwick's] editorship, that no small contribution to its prosperity is the patronage of lawyers having legal notices for publication." See Seattle Argus, June 16, 1934, p. 5.

71. Upton Sinclair also indicted the Associated Press in The Brass Check (Pasadena, CA: Sinclair, 1919).

72. Seattle Argus, March 17, 1900, p. 4.

73. Seattle Argus, Feb. 17, 1900, p. 4.

74. Seattle Argus, March 2, 1907, p. 1.

75. Seattle Argus, March 23, 1907, p. 2.

76. Seattle Argus, June 2, 1906, p. 1. It was unusual for publishers to take a stand against these interests because of advertising pressures. Mark Sullivan, a muckraker, exposed "the contract of silence" many publishers signed with the Proprietary Medicine Association which cancelled the association's advertisements if the newspaper printed stories against their interests. See Louis Filler, The Muckrakers: Crusaders for American Liberalism, p. 151; Salme Harju Steinberg, Reformer in the Marketplace, pp. 98-112.

77. Seattle Argus, June 2, 1906, p. 1.

78. Seattle Argus, Feb. 17, 1906, p. 2.

79. Congress passed the Pure Food and Drug Act in 1906; the Washington State legislature approved similar legislation in 1907.

80. Seattle Argus, Feb. 2, 1907, p. 2.

81. Seattle Argus, April 21, 1906, p. 3.

82. Seattle Argus, Aug. 16, 1906, p. 2.

83. Seattle Argus, April 20, 1907, p. 3.

84. Will Irwin in his "The American Newspaper" series, published in Collier's in 1911, mentioned Seattle's Post-Intelligencer's financial ties with the Great Northern Railroad. The railroad owned $170,000 worth of bonds in this newspaper. Also see generally Upton Sinclair, The Brass Check; Nelson A. Crawford, The Ethics of Journalism (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1924); and Lambert A. Wilmer, Our Press Gang (Philadelphia: J.T. Lloyd, 1859).

85. Seattle Argus, Feb. 2, 1901, p. 1.

86. Seattle Argus, June 2, 1906, p. 1.

87. Advertisements were often concealed as news stories during this time. See Gerald Baldasty, "Modern Industrialism, the Press and News in Late 19th Century America," p. 10.

88. Seattle Argus, April 14, 1894, p. 5.

89. Seattle Argus, Feb. 10, 1906, p. 2.

90. Seattle Argus, Feb. 10, 1907, p. 2.

91. Seattle Argus, July 7, 1906, p. 1.

92. Seattle Argus, April 14, 1906, p. 2.

93. Seattle Argus, Jan. 30, 1897, p. 1.

94. Seattle Argus, July 18, 1908, p. 2.

95. Seattle Argus, March 3, 1907, p. 2.

96. Seattle Argus, April 21, 1906, p. 3.

97. Seattle's "Blue Books" listed the city's leading citizens and their club memberships. Chadwick and his wife were not listed in these books at least through 1910. Neither did Chadwick advertise the Argus in them. In addition, Chadwick was not mentioned in Norbert MacDonald's "The Business Leaders of Seattle, 1880-1910." Pacific Northwest Quarterly 50 (January 1959) pp. 1-13.

98. Post-Intelligencer, Oct. 15, 1915.

99. Chadwick was an avid yachter and, later in his life, spent much time sailing the Puget Sound and the San Juan Islands. See Seattle Argus, June 16, 1934, p. 1.

100. Chadwick graduated from the University of Washington in 1918. See History and Alumni Directory: University of Washington (Seattle: University of Washington Alumni Association, 1941) p. 198.

101. H. A. Chadwick, editor, Men Behind the Seattle Spirit: The Argus Cartoons (Seattle, 1906) foreword.

102. Seattle Argus, Jan. 16, 1895, p. 4.

103. Seattle Argus, Feb. 16, 1907, p. 1.

104. Seattle Argus, March 17, 1906, p. 2.

105. Seattle Argus, June 16, 1934, p. 4.

106. Seattle Argus, April 14, 1906, p. 2.

107. Seattle Argus, June 23, 1934, p. 6.